regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

## 1. ECONOMIC LIFE

There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akuwi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho*, Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki*: "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki*:

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim*, swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha*."

As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

> In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

visit Matsumae to pay tribute, and that the Matsumae clan had taken advantage of this opportunity to impress the natives with its authority and to treat with them in various ways. This custom was continued by the Bakufu. Among the Sixty-nine articles on the Administration of the Ezo territory set up by the Ezo Commissioner that article which had provided that Ezo be brought to Edo so that they might be influenced into submission and their customs thereby changed was later cancelled by orders from high authority. This move was protested by the Commissioner in a memorandum of March, 1800:

> The reason for summoning *Otona* to Matsumae in the past was, in my opinion, to display Japanese power by showing them the weapons at the residence of the Lord Wakasa. In consideration of this practice and its significance it is my opinion that four or five *Otona* be summoned at least as far as Hakodate. The *Otona* of Akkeshi, Nemuro and other *Basho* should take their turns in different years in coming to Hakodate.[1]

It was not, however, until 1816 that this suggestion was put into practice.[2] At that time the Bakufu ruled that native representatives of each *Basho* should appear before and pay tribute to the Magistrate of Matsumae. These representatives were accompanied by officials from their respective *Basho* guard posts and the visits were made periodically. According to the *Niikappu Basho Bunsho* written in June, 1822, and which seems to be a report made on the occasion of transferring the administration of that *Basho*,[3] their turn came every five years. When the year of the visit came around, the names of those who were to make the trip, i.e. *Otona*, *Kozukai*, two ordinary Ezo to act as servants and porters, interpreter and one guard, were submitted, together with a list of presents, to the Magistrate of Matsumae and to the Hakodate Office in the early part of February. The group would set off during the latter part of March when the roads were open. The expenses involved in making the journey were borne by the *Basho* contractor concerned and were seventy-five mon per person per day plus whatever added expenses were incurred if extra people or horses had to be hired. At those *Basho* which fished for salmon the visit could be postponed if it happened to coincide with the fishing season which came about every other year,

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[1] Ezochi narabini Hakodate torihakarai kadokado moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Memorandum on the administration of Ezo and Hakodate), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 5 in *SHS* 5: 745 ff.

[2] "Since it has been decided that the visits would take place every five years beginning in 1816, next year which is 1823 will be the turn of this *Basho*." Nikkapu Basho hikiwatashi shō (Documents concerning the transfer of Nikkapu *Basho*) (written in 1822) from *Ezo Zassho* (Miscellaneous materials on Ezo). This indicates that in 1816 Ezo was divided into five districts in accord with the number of *Basho* and that the natives of each district rotated their visits in turn.

[3] Gorei Ezojin tetsuzuki chōsho (Procedures whereby the Ezo may express their gratitude) in *Ezo Zassho*. In *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* 1: 9

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

since manpower during the summer could not be dispensed with.[4]

After the tributary visit to the Magistrate the group reported to the Hakodate Office and presented gifts. Another report was submitted after the party had returned to their *Basho*.[5] The gifts presented consisted chiefly of products of the *Basho* or of handicraft work made by the natives during the winter.[6] For example we have a list of gifts given by the Niikappu *Basho* in 1818.

*Gifts to Matsumae*

Ten Ezo handmade towel hangers
Fifteen knife sheaths
Twenty spoons
Twenty writing brush holders
Twenty spools
Two hundred dried sea slugs

*Gifts to Hakodate*

Five Ezo handmade towel holders
Ten knife sheaths
Ten spoons
Ten writing brush holders
Ten spools
One hundred twenty dried sea slugs

The ceremony for the interview and the presentation of gifts by the Magistrate was probably more or less the same as that of the Later Matsumae period and the later Bakufu Adminstrative Period but materials for this particular period are not available. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is apparent that, in order to achieve dignity, the ceremony was conducted with grandeur, with various presents being given to the natives, and the entire affair was used by the authorities to establish a mutual understanding. Ceremonies similar to the above but on a smaller scale were held at the meeting house, tax office, or guardhouse of

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[4] "The annual visits of gratitude which, taking place at the beginning of the year, are made to the Magistracy by those Ezo with titles, will take place once every five years. During the year prior to the year of the visit the *Basho* will be notified and handicrafts and other presents shall be prepared during the leisure of winter. Lists of those Ezo who are to attend will also be prepared and the presents when ready will be brought to the guardhouse where they will be examined and sealed. If the *Basho* engages in trout fishing and the year happens to be an abundant one, the Ezo may request the guardhouse to postpone their visit until the following year. One *Otona* and one *Kozukai* will make the visit from each *Basho* and the number of persons will be kept down to a necessary minimum." Bunsei mizunoeuma nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho (Instructions pertaining to the transfer of the Western territories in the year 1822).

[5] "Orei Ezojin. . . ."

[6] "Presents from the Ezo consisted of eagle tails, rush mats and other goods obtained in the *Basho*. . . ." "Kusuri Basho hikiwatashi ikken. . . ."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6



was either to put up with it silently or to don their hats and go away. And the woman would, if she saw fit, march off, without more ado, at any time.

Although matters have changed with these people in almost every respect since early times, yet there are a few things which echo down among them from the past to the present—faint, indeed, but there nevertheless. The family tie on the woman's side was stronger than that on the man's side, as it is still in some degree. The brother of the mother was looked upon as the real head of the family, and the sister had, in her own family, more privileges than her brother's wife. But these relationships are not so much insisted on today.

It appeared to me that in marriage the men got the best of the bargain. The wife always looked upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables and garden stuff. She and her daughters did all the household work, drew the water, wove all the cloth and made the clothing. Of course they did the cooking. And thus the women folk had a very busy time of it. But then, food and clothing were all they needed. There were no taxes to pay, no fuel to buy, no shops, no clubs, no movies to attend, no electric light bills to meet, no Government Members to pay, no institutions whatever to keep up, and no "pubs." There was good brotherhood among them. The work of the men consisted in hunting and fishing, so that it was up to them to supply the house with all animal food. If rice, which the Ainu women did not attempt to grow, was needed, the men had to work to get the money, skins, or fish to purchase it with. In order to raise this money, if they had no skins for sale, they hired themselves out to the Japanese fishing stations or went horse-tending or timber-cutting or land-surveying for the Japanese. It was also their duty to spend much time in making fetishes and worshipping the gods.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6



them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had perhaps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to take up their time. There was the weeding to be attended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manufacturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quickly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium Glenni*). After washing and boiling well, the arrow-root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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242 829 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to [178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

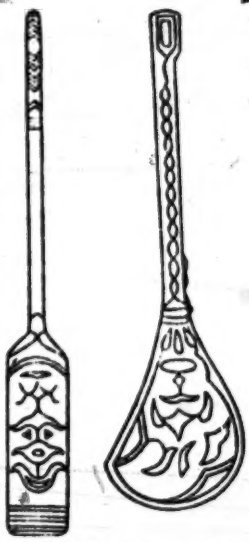
221 562 462 In the winter time, particularly during the latter part of November and the early part of December, the women assisted the men to net or spear the large salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so, [461 171] for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especially after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and so paying their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

## CHAPTER XIII

### SUSTENANCE

In the old palmy days food was both plentiful and easy to come by among the Ainu, and they were very happy and contented. Even when I myself first arrived among them about 50 years ago, anxiety with regard to sustenance was only just beginning to be felt in places. In the season the salmon rivers were full of fish, so much so indeed that in some places they crowded one another out of the water on to the banks, and the otters and bears had glorious times among them. The natives netted or speared many. They also killed quite a number by beating them with poles, and even the dogs used to help to catch them by swimming out and surrounding some and then driving them ashore. The season was short so that they "made hay whilst the sun shone." It was then that the roofs of the huts were to be seen crammed full of fish hanging up in the smoke, while many poles which were set up outside were covered with fine salmon slit up the middle and drying in the sun. But being thus dried fresh and



LADLES FOR STIRRING THE COOKING-POTS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6



331 342 In building their dwellings, the people begin not "with the top brick of the chimney," but with the roof. This consists of bare rafters tied to horizontal poles at the lower end and a long ridge-pole at the upper, to which the thatch is fixed. The inner layers of bark, especially of elm trees, and pieces of vine and creeping plants are used as rope and string for tying the poles together. As soon as the roof is finished, poles about seven feet long (of magnolia by preference, on account of its supposed durability) are driven into the earth at a distance of about six feet apart, and across these smaller pieces of wood are lashed, to which the thatch is tied; and thus the walls are formed. These poles have each a fork in the top. When they are all set up in their places, the roof is lifted bodily on to them, the lower horizontal poles being allowed to rest in the forks at the top of the uprights. The thatching is then proceeded with. This takes a day or two to finish, for the huts are entirely thatched with reeds, right from the ridge-poles on the roof to the foot of the poles stuck in the earth. Both men and women work at house-
[462 building, in which I have also sometimes joined for the
● 221] fun of the thing, and the spring and autumn were the proper times for this occupation.

342 When the framework of the house has been set up and the "heart" fixed properly in its appointed place, a preliminary house-warming festival takes place, at which prayer is said, dumplings eaten and either millet beer or Japanese *saké* partaken of. The first prayer is as follows:—

342 788 782 "O House God! O Caretaker of the Room! we worship Thee; we beseech Thee to hear us. In olden times, when the Goddess of Fire was sent down from Heaven, a house came down with her. The frame was made of wood and the walls of reeds. The heart also was there. Now, when God sent the building down, He said, 'This house will, together with the Goddess of Fire, watch over the people. When it becomes old,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6



and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

"The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

*The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

## CHAPTER XXXV

### A GRANDFATHER, GRANDSON, DEMON AND DEMI-GOD

Thus runs this very remarkable old world story: 539

"I was brought up by my beloved, aged grandfather, and we lived together. [221] He was a man who spent his days hunting seals, which he brought home for our daily sustenance. On a certain occasion when meat had become scarce, he set off again to hunt. But when he returned at his usual time that evening, I saw that he had made no kills. On entering the house he said, 'I went to my usual hunting grounds where I have hitherto never failed to get seals, but today I was surprised to find that there was not so much as one to be seen. But I could hear far out at sea the cries of many, both male and female animals. This being so, I thought thus within myself, "The old seals have evidently migrated to some other island and thus it is that I am unable to meet with any. This is the first time I have ever been unsuccessful."' So said my dear grandfather. Hearing this, I retired to bed but could not sleep, through having an ardent desire to go off to the place where he said he had heard the animals crying.

"Before very long, as I saw my grandfather was sleeping quietly, I went down to the seashore. Here I found the boat which he used in his hunting. This I quickly laid hands on and entered. I pushed off, and directing my course toward the offing, I rowed straight on. By and by I saw an island in the distance, to which I steered. I rowed hard till I came near and found a

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6



278 [776] and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

[184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and [221] about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of [782] gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

757 755 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup* or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe*; *he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one [782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

[776] [278] the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collection of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



## III

## FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES

So much has been written about the gathering devices and techniques of the Ainu that it is all but impossible to enumerate individual writings on the subject. Comprehensive articles have been published in particular by HITCHCOOK (1891), MONTANDON (1937) and NATORI (1945, pp. 135-212). However, they have all followed the morphological or typological approach to the so-called 'material culture' study, devoting most of their studies to such items as the bow and arrow and the salmon spear to the exclusion of such important items as the fishing trap and the fishing net. In short, little attempt has been made to describe or analyse the Ainu system of interrelated food-getting devices, techniques and activities, the elucidation of which system forms the chief object of the present chapter. While dealing with those latter items as well, it leaves out much about their technological details. It will be seen that a greater importance is attached to the essential structure, mechanism and use of those Ainu implements in relation to their activities whereby they adapt themselves to their habitat, and to the organization of those activities.

One of the basic problems in ecology is the periodicity of community activities. In this chapter, the time of the beginning or end of each seasonal activity of the Ainu will be referred to by the Ainu month and/or the solar calendar month[55]. However, what is important in this paper is not the time itself but the degree and nature of correlation between the periodicity in Ainu activities and that in the phenomena in their habitat. To examine this, data concerning ecology and ethology of biotic species are indispensable, the most important of which are given in the notes of this chapter.

### Fishing Devices.

#### The Fish-spear.

The fish-spear, *marek*, is a long wooden shaft, with a flexible iron prong so fixed to the end that the point may be hooked to prevent the fish caught from falling off in bringing it up (Fig. 2, a). The spear was classified into two types: those with a large hook, *shiipe koiki marek*, used for such larger fishes as dog salmon and Hucho perryi, and those with a smaller one, *ichaniu (or ichanui) koiki marek*, for such fishes as cherry salmon and dace. Both were used alike by the fisherman either standing in a dugout, on the bank or in the stream, or sitting in the peep-fishing hut, *worun chise* (Fig. 2, b). Night spearing was accompanied with a torch for illumination. Torch-light

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.
227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[824] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.
349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on
piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[462] b It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*.
[824] The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

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which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass technique. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

The Meshing-net.

This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

Spring Fishing.

With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

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the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity. Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*, Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54). With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[26], was one of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch ascending shoals those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader watercourses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1. [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

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226 512 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that [462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens • 221 for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through 221 the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But 184 the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the 221 water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk. [462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The [184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches [132] in the same rivers (OYA, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers [251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly [262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

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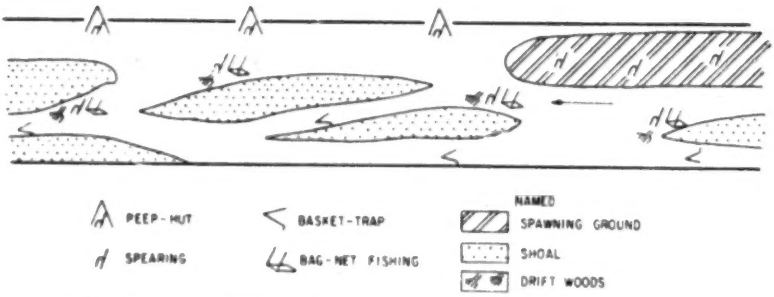


Fig. 3. Diagram representing the distribution of dog-salmon fishing sites.

Dog salmon migrate and ascend rivers in large shoals in order to spawn. Various conditions restrict their spawning sites, in search of which dog salmon come gathering in specific areas. As a result, the relationship between the Ainu and the fish grew up and was maintained with these spawning grounds as centre. The spawning habits of the dog salmon[28], e. g. the parent salmon standing by their spawning bed while in breeding, their spawning in comparatively shallow water, and almost regular recurrence yearly of spawning grounds at the same places, may be regarded as limiting factors in the group ecology of the Ainu in regard to salmon fishing.

[182]

At least on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke as well as on the Azuma, the Ainu fished the salmon during the period from around October to December[29] (p. 53). Each local group began its salmon fishing with the arrival of the fish near its own settlement. The methods and the sites of fishing changed as the season wore away (Figs. 3 and 4). Observance of a ritual before the first run marked the beginning of all Ainu dog-salmon fishing (p. 72). Meanwhile, there came an interval between the first run in the area about the settlement or settlements of each local group and the first spawning in the spawning grounds near their settlement. For example, about Kuttarashi and Nitmap on the uppermost Tokapchi there were scattered spawnings 3 or 4 days after the first run; near Naitai settlement on the uppermost Otopuke spawnings occurred sporadically 4 or 5 days after the first run. It is ichthyologically known that the spawning of the dog salmon, like that of the cherry salmon, occurs gradually from the upper down to the lower reaches in the same river course (Note 28). For instance, it usually began about 2 days later about Kumaushi settlement than at Nitmap which lies directly above it; at Sanenkoro settlement 3 or 4 days later than at Kumaushi which lies above it (Map 2 and p. 61). The result was that the lower the settlement the longer the period of runs with no spawning. During this period Ainu males speared fish with the *marek* at peep-huts set up on the running course.

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226 Peep-fishing proved most effective at hours before sunset when the fish re-
221 sumed their active ascent and again at daybreak before they became inactive
512 and went into hiding. In the daytime the spearers went round to spear salmon hiding in the bank-side deeps and under drift-wood. The basket-trap, the main fishing-gear for Ainu females, did not work with any efficiency until salmon started spawning. The use of the bag-net was tabooed till the latter part of the dog-salmon season, i. e. *meorun chep* season (Note 30). When spawning began in the spawning grounds near their own settlement, the Ainu started spearing the fish at the spawning grounds at sunset and in early morning. It will be seen from the ichthyological data in Note 28 that all the spawning and ascending activities of the fish usually become brisk at night between sundown and daybreak. The basket-trap, an automatic device, was set effectively to catch fish moving up and down around the spawning grounds, while in daytime fishing, spearing salmon in hiding was the only productive technique. In the earliest phase of the breeding season, i. e. before heavy spawning set in, peep-fishing in the running course still played a more im-
[562] portant part than spearing at and around the spawning grounds. In the upper Tokapchi women were prohibited to use the spear, *marek*, in this phase. In either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, heavy spawning was interrupted by a fall in the runs with mostly spawned fish remaining in the rivers and few fresh salmon to spawn—a period of several days. This period of falling off, however, was again followed by another of fresh runs. The arrival of fresh-run salmon seems to have been correlated roughly to the appearance of snow-ice lumps, *mompe*, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as the Mukawa and the Saru. These later runs, to be regarded as 'silvery salmon' which ascend late in the Oncorhynchus keta season in Hokkaido, were distinguished by the Ainu as *meorun chep* or *mata chep* from the earlier one[30]. The *meorun chep* did not run so far upstream as the earlier groups but spawned in the same areas. The Ainu used, besides the same devices, torchlights and bag-nets which were prohibited for the
[184] earlier runs. The prohibition of the use of both these devices was verified only in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma; that of torchlights alone is detectable among the natives of Mukawa and Saru, whereas the exclusive use of torchlights for the later runs is found among the Shikot Ainu. On the arrival of the *meorun chep* season all the Ainu began spearing salmon at night by torchlight. The method was employed most effectively, and therefore mainly, for fishing in spawning grounds, though it was also the one for running fish.
[462] In the daytime women came out to take part in bag-net fishing in combination with spearing by men in hidings of the fish. During this cold season the older males were occupid in catching running salmon mostly in peep-huts.
226 At the end of *meorun chep* spawning in the areas controlled by each group,
221 1, [Errata: the word "occupid" should read "occupied"--Analyst]

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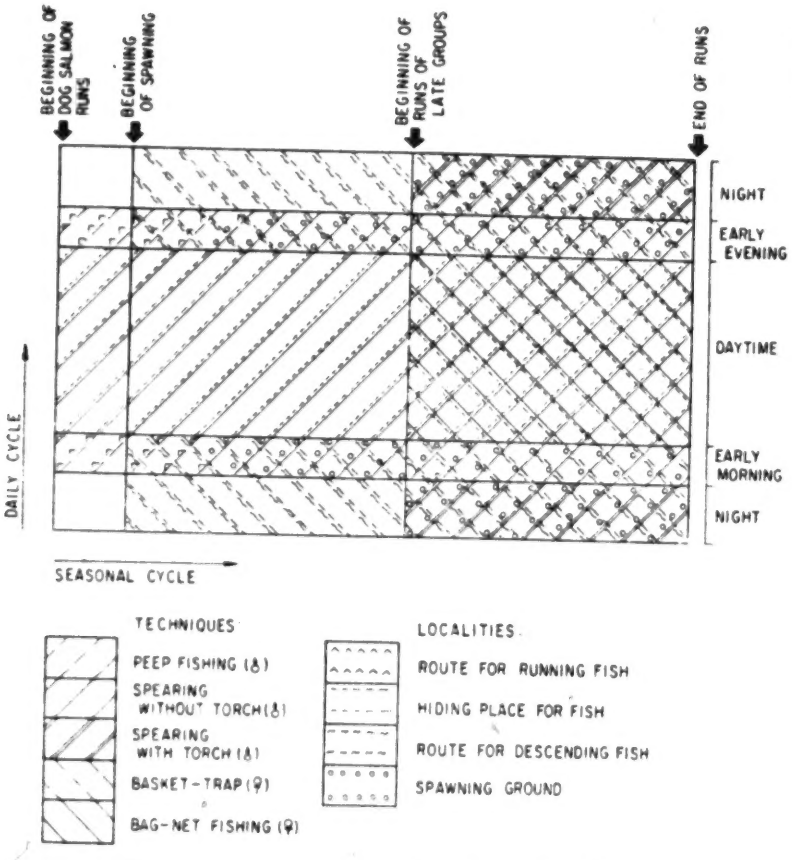


Fig. 4. Daily and seasonal cycles in dog salmon fishing.

a post-run ritual was performed to mark the close of dog-salmon fishing, 226
although for some time afterwards some lingering fish might be picked up. 221
The end of dog-salmon runs or their entire disappearance came earlier on the upper stretches of a river than in the lower. However, all the local groups, those on the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma at least, ceased to fish dog-salmon, with some variation, in December. Salmon caught in [251]
December were made into a sort of frozen fish, *ruibe*; but these were not at all many. The greater part of the dog-salmon needed by the natives were fished during October and November, being sun-dried for storing.

As shown in the previous description of the fishing gear and Figures 3 226
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structure of the building itself, the kinds of the fixtures and their arrangement were similar to those at home as far as ascertained in Tokapchi and Otopuke (Fig. 1). A special window was provided facing toward the source of the river, for the purpose of taking in and out the spoils of the chase and the hunting gear (Fig. 5, c; Note 60). The hut was oriented and the fixture arranged alike to the position of the window. The structure of the Ainu hunting hut, like their home dwelling, was not merely a material shelter but also a means of maintaining social solidarity with nature.

In spring and autumn each year the hut was occupied after necessary repairs by the fixed group of hunters. The group was formed either by an individual family or by two or three families belonging to the same settlement (pp. 43 and 46). Each hunting group usually had a hut of either type to use for respective purpose (p. 45, the chart). Some groups had no bear hunting hut, in which case there was no positive activity in bear hunting. The Ainu hunters, except a few going home and back again on occasion, stayed at their hut throughout the hunting season. From this base they went round, setting spring bows and hunting with hand bows. There they dissected their spoils according to a set ritual procedure and prepared from them hides, meat and fat to be kept till the time of carrying them home. The occupants of the hut might be all males or mixed, with females doing such domestic work as cooking and so on, as was usually the case at the deer hunting hut where there were more hunters and more spoils brought in. Female helpers, however, were quite few in either case: about one at a bear hunting hut and not many more even at a deer hunting hut. They were mostly hunters' unmarried daughters or unmarried sisters, who were usually at home doing house work but were called up when spoils were more than could be skinned or carried off by the occupants themselves. The Ainu of the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys as well as those of the Mukawa valley had two huts for bear hunting, one deep in the source area of the river and another midway or comparatively near their homes, the examples of which are given in the chart in p. 45. Some Ainu inform that Ainu hunters used one or the other according to the conditions of the season; but there are also indications that they used the first for bearhunting in spring and the second in autumn.

Hunting Activities.

Deer Hunting.

The deer, Cervus nippon, was hunted in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. Autumn deer were to the Ainu as important a source of winter food as were dog salmon. In summer as well, deer roamed about in herds

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over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished, in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting; besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp. 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Japanese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[31] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *irektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[32]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are concerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensij.[33]

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*hup*, Abies sachalinensis[10]. In the second phase the scene of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[11]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

1, A [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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by hunters in chase of deer. Such an act, however, must be distinguished from the regular and organized bear-hunting under consideration. Bear hunting was practised in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. No regular bear hunting was practised in the time when their furs were summer ones (Note 36, a and b). In each season bear hunters formed a party and went to stay at the hut away from their homes. The spring hunting, *paikaru iramande*, began at about the time when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk in and bear cubs had been given birth in the dens (Note 36, c). Earlier in spring before hunting with spring-bow began, they carried out raids on the dens while still the inmates lay in hibernation. After building up a wooden palisade to blockade the entrance of the den, they stirred up the adult animal in the den to come out and shot it with hand bows and poisoned arrows. After killing the parent bear they captured the young cubs left, which they took home to bring them up. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears coming out of their dens by means of spring bows set on their tracks mainly on the ridges where the snow melts earlier. The season came to its end at about the time when most bears had left their dens (Note 36, a). So far as hunters from the upper Tokapchi are concerned, most of them returned home once after their raids on bears' dens, stayed there until about the time when bears began to come out of their dens and then went back again to the mountain huts to hunt with spring bows. The season of autumn bear-hunting, *chuk iramande*, covered a period between the time when bears began to retreat to their dens and the time when almost all the bears had finished retreating (Note 36, b). In this season spring bows were set on the tracks usually along the small glens where foods for the bear, such as nuts and berries, were plenty. They hunted the animal with hand bows as well and some hunters chased bears even to their dens. The date of the retreat is delicately influenced by the conditions of snow-falls of the season, so the hunters used to enter mountains at a much earlier date than expected.

Collecting of Plants.

Major items of plants collected by the Ainu were as the following. After each Ainu and scientific names its place of occurence and the parts used by the Ainu are given[38].

Food plants:

| Ainu Names | Scientific Names | Habitat | Parts Used |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Eha | Falcata japonica | Roadside and grassy meadows | Legumina under the ground |
| 2. Muki | Codonopsis ussuriensis | Woods and grassy meadows | Roots |

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In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

| Types of Land | Ainu Term | Plants Mainly Collected |
|---|---|---|
| Woodland on river bank | *kenashi* | 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14 |
| Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace | *nup* | 1, 2 |
| Oak wood on river terrace | *komni tai* | 1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18 |
| Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace | *nitat* | 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 |

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

[1] [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usually done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member households of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance, those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[9]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*, and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

Food-getting Activities.

Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order to sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic importance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form, the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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| | |
|---|---|
| Scraping bark | Female |
| Aconite plants | Male |
| **Processing of Gathered Materials** | |
| Bear and deer: | |
| Skinning: | |
| First cutting | Male |
| Other skinning work | Male and/or female |
| Abstracting fat | Male and/or female |
| Scraping skin | Male and/or female |
| Feeding bear-cub | Female |
| Fish: | |
| First cutting of first dog salmon | Male |
| Other cutting and processing work including roasting and sun-drying | Female or male |
| House building: | |
| Constructing frame | Male |
| Thatching and walling | Female |
| Lifting up the roof | Male and female |
| Building dugout | Male |
| Boiling, drying and storing edible plants | Female |
| Manufacturing wooden utencils and furniture | Male |
| Weaving, knitting and sewing | Female |
| Making threads | Female |

Cycles of Gathering Activities, Sex Division of Labour and Changes of Activity Fields.

The Ainu had two major cycles of gathering activities: a leisure season in winter for about two months and a work season for about ten months from spring to fall. During the work season their labour was devoted to hunting by men for about two to three months, to collecting by women for about five to six months, and to fishing, mostly salmon, by men and women for about eight to nine months.

Spring.—When the snow season was over and thawing began, biotic communities started their lively activities, which the Ainu, as part of nature, joined by resuming their vigorous outdoor, especially gathering, activities. Their grown-up males organized bear or deer hunting parties, and migrating, the former usually to river-source mountains, the latter to lower hills along and between rivers, and living in huts, did their hunts. Female members, however, except those who went with the parties to cook for them, remained

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221 at home and busied themselves gathering edible plants, especially herbs, on 402 the neighbouring river-banks or river-terraces, and boiling and drying them [251] for storage. These female activities, essential for recurring winter life, lasted intensively until midsummer or throughout the whole summer. During the spring, the river fish were not yet plenty, but there were some runs of fish such as *chirai*, Hucho perryi, or *supuń*, Tribolodon spp.. The deer hunters, who had migrated to their huts, returned by turns to their houses, even during the deer season, to carry home their game, and they utilized such opportunities to catch these river fish. When the hunting season was over, the hunting parties returned in the middle of spring to find little to do except this kind of fishing, until the cherry salmon appeared.

Summer.—The season was the time devoted to fishing and collecting. In early summer, all men, now living at home with their families, began catching cherry salmon that appeared in the river near their settlement. And when by and by the cherry salmon began to spawn, they moved their major fishing grounds from the river to small tributaries. At this stage, some local groups on the upper Tokapchi (p. 27) migrated regularly to the same streams at some distance from their settlement and lived in huts which served as their fishing bases, while others fished near their own settlement, living at [251] home. Females also took some active part in fishing, and broiled and dried their catch to preserve them. Females, however, had more important work [285] to do during this season. They had to gather certain edible roots (Cardio- [287] crinum Glehni) chiefly along the river banks, and make starch from it; besides, they had to do such domestic work as weaving bark cloth and making baskets. Therefore, when the local groups went migrating to some cherry salmon fishing sites, part of the female population, especially housewives, remained at home. Again, some members of the fishing groups in the huts at the fishing sites returned home by turns frequently, chiefly to carry home their catches.

Autumn.—It was at this season, when dog salmon run upstream in place of cherry salmon and deer's meat grew greasy, that the Ainu prepared their main food for the winter in which it was difficult to gather any. Therefore, their food gathering activities became most intensive at this season. Most of the males remained at home with their families, catching dog salmon in the neighbouring rivers and pursuing deer in the fields on the river-terraces near the settlement. But some of the males, younger and more expert hunters, did so only in the early part of this season, and with the coming of mid-autumn, sped migrating to their huts near the hibernation centres of the bears to hunt them. The autumn bear party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing was of special importance for securing winter foods.

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Winter.—When the base snow began accumulating, those animals concerned stopped their local migration and became inactive. Then the Ainu, whose techniques were adapted to such ecology, stopped their positive gathering activities to remain inactive until the next spring, like all other animals; neither deer hunting nor salmon-catching was their business any longer, all bear hunters home from the deep mountains. It is true that some Ainu hunters went to the winter quarters of the deer to supplement the winter provisions for their families or their neighbours in the same group, but it seems that such supplementary or secondary activities used to be all over within the earliest part of the season. And now that their stores were filled and their outdoor activities over, festivity thrived among them all; they gathered for feast and ceremony, to which relatives and friends were invited from different local groups to observe the ritual killing of the bear-cub, which had been kept and fed specifically for this occasion (Note 67).

Except active hunters who used to go to their hunting huts every spring and autumn for a period of usually about a month or more each, every one lived in his own settlement throughout the year and would be engaged in collecting, fishing, and even hunting. The food plants which they collected were found distributed all over the river-banks and river-terraces. The distribution of resources were not restricted exclusively to any particular place, but in relation to their techniques, fishing and hunting grounds were roughly localized. For the Ainu fishing techniques, a concentration of dog-salmon spawning-beds and its surroundings were the best grounds. Thus the greater part of their time and energy for gathering were spent around their *kotan* near the river. It is very likely that the dispersion or concentration of a locol[1] group was correlated closely with its ecology in relation to salmon fishidg,[2] especially its adjustment of fishing techniques to the spawning grounds. The interrelationship between cycles of gathering activities, sex division of labour and changes of activity fields are diagramatically shown in Fig. 7.

The sequence of gathering activities and their correlations with seasonal changes in their respective habitat are practically the same in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma except for minor fluctuations in individual activities and time of changes. The following phenological chart refers to Nitmap in the upper Tokapchi.

1. [Errata: the word "locol" should read "local"--Analyst]
2. [Errata: "idg" should read "ing"--Analyst]

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Phenology of the Activities of the Ainu

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| Ainu Month (cf. Note 25) | Phenomena in Ainu Habitat | Activities of the Ainu |
|---|---|---|
| Shunean chup | Middle part: repeating light snow falls; bears begin moving into deep mountains seeking dens for hibernation. Snow-ice lumps on rivers when it snows; first run of *meorun-chep*. | Middle or last part: bear hunting with spring-bows begins in the mountains.<br>Torchlight fishing of dog salmon begins. |
| Kuekai chup | Early or middle part: most bears already in hibernation.<br>Last part: some base snow on the fields; no more deer seen on the fields. End of salmon runs. | Early or middle part: bear hunting over; most hunters home from hunts.<br>Last part: end of deer hunts on the fields; removing of spring-bows from deer fences. All bear hunters left behind return home. Dog salmon fishing over; post-run ceremony for the fish. |
| Zuurup chup | Early part: base snow deep on the fields; deer already gathering in winter quarters.<br>Births of bear cubs during this month and the next. | Early part: deer hunting in the hills by part of hunters.<br>Collective activities in bear ceremony between this month and the next. |
| Toetanne chup | Middle or last part: snow on the fields hardens. | |
| Haprap chup | Early part: mountain snow hardens. | Early part: bear hunters enter deep mountains, begin hunting bears and their cubs in hibernation.<br>Middle part: deer hunters go near wintering quarters, begin hunting game by driving them out on hardened snow.<br>Last part: most bear hunters back, the first having returned half a month earlier. |
| Kiuta chup | Middle part: no more base snow on the fields; deer scattered out of winter quarters. First note of Japanese bush-warbler[44]; first scattered bears out of hibernation dens.<br>Last part: rivers swell with thaw; first appearance in the Sahorun, a tributary, of Hucho perryi. | Middle part: deer hunts in the mountains over; bear hunters go into mountains to set spring-bows; collecting of edible plants begins.<br>Last part: beginning of river fishing with appearance of Hucho. |
| Shikiuta chup | Middle part: first note of Himalayan cuckoo[44]; most bears out of dens from hibernation. | Middle part: end of spring bear hunts: hunters all back home. |
| Momauta chup | Early part: first note of Japanese Cuckoo[44]. | Early part: preparation of field and then collecting of roots (Cardiocrinum) begins. |

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



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| Ainu Month (cf. Note 25) | Phenomena in Ainu Habitat | Activities of the Ainu |
|---|---|---|
| Shimauta chup | Early or middle part: run of cherry salmon in the main stream. | Early or middle part: cherry salmon fishing starts in the main stream; pre-fishing ritual and setting up of weirs. |
| Moniorap chup | Early part: flowers of *kuttara* in full bloom; cherry salmon having run to the upper water course of the Sahorun. | Early part: cherry salmon fishing in the tributary starts; part of the local group move to fishing huts for the purpose. |
| Shiniorap chup | Last part: end of cherry salmon run to the Sahorun; Magnolia-tree shedding leaves indicates the approach of dog salmon runs. | Last part: end of cherry salmon fishing in the tributary; fishermen return home. Repairing and preparation of deer fences. Harvesting begins. |
| Urepok chup | Early part of this month or late last month: first run of dog salmon.<br>Middle part: deer's coat begins turning into winter fur, and the meat gets greasy. | Early part of this month or late last month: dog salmon fishing starts; pre-fishing and first salmon rituals of the local group.<br>Middle part: deer hunting on the fields starts; setting of deer fences. Harvesting ends. |

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



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462
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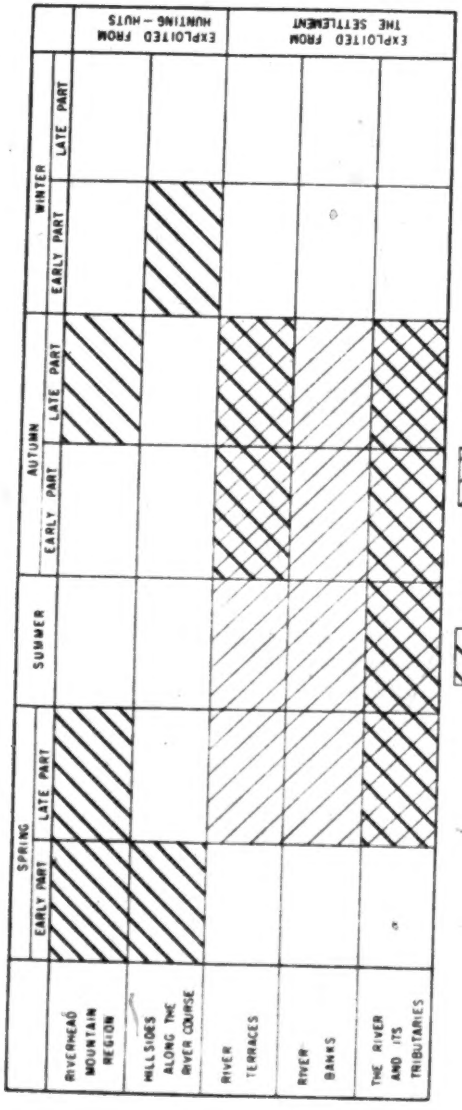


Fig. 7. Seasonal changes in the activity fields of male and female Ainus.

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621 423 311 [103]

Named Spawning Grounds on the Satnai, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[50]
(in descending order of location)

| Name of Spawning Ground | Approximate Length (yd.) | Group Exploiting Regularly | Controlling Body |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nupokomap Un Ichan | 200 | Nupokomap settlement group | Nupokomap group as local group |
| Riyoromap Un Ichan | ? | " | " |
| Urekarip Un Ichan | 600 | Urekarip settlement group | Urekarip group as local group |

The analysis of the spawning grounds on the Azuma is incomplete owing to the death of Ushintasan, the chief informant from the area. There are some data on the spawning grounds on the Saru; however, the time horizon concerned is shortly after the land allotment[51]. [115]

The nature of the hunting grounds was previously explained in relation to their hunting devices (p. 31; Notes 33 and 37). Distribution of the hunting grounds of the cooperative groups from Nitmap and Pipaushi is shown in the charts in pp. 45-46 and in Map 2.

The area of the territories maintained by a given group never extended beyond the capacity of the group for direct and efficient exploitation of them. Nor were any new grounds sought elsewhere until those hitherto utilized had fallen unproductive. If a group moved to a new locality leaving its ground in disuse, it ceased to have claim on the old territory. The number of fish-trapping sites varied to a considerable extent with different familes. This means that more traps were used by families with less catches by spearing against the total amount of supply needed. How these holdings by individual simple families and cooperative groups were inherited remains to be explored.

Each territory held by simple family, cooperative group or local group served as a ground for supplying specific resources, but it was only for a period of time peculiar to the ecology of each game to be obtained. For example, the bear-hunting ground was good only in spring and autumn and the dog-salmon spawning-grounds in autumn only. As a result, territorialism held by the Ainu for their localities waxed strong in season and nearly or entirely vanished out of season. On the other hand, inter-river-group-territorialism—territorialism which a river group displayed for its own river valley—induced them to refuse a stranger or outsider to exploit any kind of its resources without permission, whether in season or out of season. 423 221 311 [619]

Except spawning grounds of dog salmon and colonies of aconites, these territories controlled by the smaller groups within the river group are found in every instance to be fishing or hunting grounds furnished with fixed instruments. Unless conditions for exploiting specific resources did not fall off, 423

805 (25) The Ainu months.—On either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, the Ainu had twelve successively named months covering the four seasons of the year: *shune an chup, kuekai chup, zuurup chup, toetanne chup, haprap chup, kiuta chup, shikiuta chup, momauta chup, shimauta chup, moniorap chup, shiniorap chup* and *urepok chup*. That the divisions seem to have been common to all the Hokkaidō Ainu is indicated by information compiled by TAKABEYA (TAKABEYA, 1941, pp. 147-9). At least with the upper Tokapchi Ainu it seems that the custom was to begin with *shune an chup*; however, it has not been verified yet in any other area. The Ainu months have been correlated by some students of the Ainu to the twelve months of the Japanese lunar calendar (ibid., pp. 147-9). Both the above-cited material and that of the present writer indicate that *shune an chup* corresponds to the tenth month of the Japanese system and *urepok chup* to the ninth; by the solar calendar, *shune an chup* corresponds roughly to November and *urepok* to October.

136 (26) The cherry salmon, Oncorhynchus masou, which resembles O. kisutch, silver salmon or coho, which abound in the North Pacific and North America, are peculiar to Japan and its neighbouring waters. In Hokkaido especially they are found in such abundance that they come only second in importance after the dog salmon, O. keta (HIKITA, 1956, p. 33).

226 Generally speaking, cherry salmon in Hokkaido begin to run for spawn-
221 ing in early May, with of course some difference in different rivers (SANO,
136 1950, p. 16; IGARASHI, 1946, p. 13). In most of the Hokkaido rivers the fishing season lasts from June till September (HIKITA, 1956, p. 34; MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-35) and passes into the dog salmon season that follows (ŌYA, 1954). In the Tokapchi today the season lasts from early June till late August, while that of the dog salmon extends from early August to late December (MIHARA, 1951, pp. 34-35). As for the height of the season no reliable information is available except ŌNO's, which gives it as from July to September
[127] (ŌNO, 1933, p. 24). A journal kept by a group of the earliest settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records in effect that in the 1883 season the first cherry salmon were taken in July (ibid., p. 134) and in the 1884 season in June (ibid., p. 137); in both seasons the runs and the landing were
136 largest in August (ibid., pp. 135 and 170). From the start of their run or arrival to their spawning, cherry salmon have a longer period to live in rivers than dog salmon (SANO, 1950, p. 16), their spawning period beginning

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226 (29) The fishing season among the Ainu of dog salmon, in either of the
221 Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, covered the following three months; *urepok chup, shune an chup* and *kuekai chup* (p. 70). That these months correspond approximately to October, November and December has been explained in Note 25.

The fishing season in the Tokapchi is from early September till late December (MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-5), and at the governmental fishing installation at Chiyota, located 40 kms. up from the river-mouth, several fishes per day begin to be caught in early September and the landing falls off in late December (Tokapchi Shijyō, official catch register for 1933-1955; oral information from the Branch in 1959). The run into the Tokapchi is so checked by a dam at Chiyota and the fishing installation lying lower that the number of fish running farther upstream is estimated to have decreased by 70 to 80 per cent (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, pp. 2 and 6). Apart from the situation, it is reported that in the Mem, a minor tributary on the middle course, the run occurs in late September and ends in early November; however, rumours point to fairly large runs seen formerly in December and even in January (ibid., p. 6). It is recorded in the diaries of first group settlers [136] "Banseisha", immigrated to Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi in 1882-3 that in 1882, 1883 and 1885 dog salmon appeared in the area in October and ascended in increasing numbers in December, while in 1884 they appeared in small quantity in September, with runs still small even in October and falling off in December; that the runs ceased at last in January in either of the years mentioncd and the fish seen in that month were old ones such as were caught by few people (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937, pp. 106, 136-7, 167, 170-1, 188 and 191).

(30) *Meorun chep* regarded as the silvery salmon.—Night-fishing with torchlights was a practice among the Ainu of the anterior generation on every river course during the latter part of the dog salmon season. On any river course of the upper Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as other rivers investigated by the present writer, the torchlight-fishing began in *shunean chup*, the month to start fishing with *shune*, the torch. The month
136 approximately corresponds to November (Note 25). The beginning of the fishing season was marked in every river course by the arrival of a specific
[825] variety of dog salmon. This variety was what the Ainu called *meorun chep* in the main Tokapchi and the Otopuke areas, or *mata chep* in the Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot areas, meaning by *me* 'cold', by *mata* 'cold season' and by *chep* 'fish'; although these later runs were of special significance to the natives, no reference seems to have been made except by BATCHELOR. The *meuren chep* and *mat chep* referred to by him shows every indication of

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Nor is

there any proof of nomadic wanderings without fixed habitation, although they had the habit of seasonal migrations from fixed homes to fixed huts for hunting or fishing. As regards seasonal migrations among the Ainu, an inference has been made of those between inland dwellings for summer and seaside dwellings for winter (ibid., pp. 112-113); a report has been made also of migrations of male members of each family in the home settlement to mountain huts in winter, to seaside huts in summer and to riverside fishing-huts in autumn (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 214 and 229). In either case, no attempt was made to analyze the mechanism of migrations or the relationship between them and the community activities in general.

In the earlier stage of his field survey the author made a report that, as far as the inland Ainu were concerned, there is no trace of seasonal migrations ever taking place between the inland and the coasts except for labour migrations by some to Japanese-owned fishing grounds (Notes 6 and 9) and seasonal visitings for trading purposes; that, shortly after the land allotments, some male members of certain coastal settlement families migrated in spring and autumn to their seaside fishing huts in order to occupy themselves exclusively in stretch-rope fishing (WATANABE, 1955; Note 53). Later investigations have increasingly convinced the writer that, save for the labour migrations to Japanese fisheries, no seasonal migrations to the coasts were attempted by inland Ainus. As for the coastal Ainu, on the other hand, only fragmentary information has been obtained for the period subsequent to the land allotments. As regards the inland Ainu at least, their seasonal migrations to fishing huts on the inland waters were in no way a general phenomenon. In the upper Tokapchi area, for instance, a section of the family members of its settlements had a habit of migrating each summer to huts for cherry salmon fishing on one of the tributets (p. 27); but no such group habits are observable among the neighbouring lower settlement group or any of the upper Otopuke or upper Azuma settlement groups. Again, in dog-salmon fishing, usually practised in the main streams near each settlement, there is no instance from any river valley of regular group migrations to such fishing sites and of erection there of fishing huts to pass the season in. Huts were sometimes built in relation to their fishing activities in main streams; however, those were usually for the purpose of taking rest or warming by turns on weir fishing or net-trap fishing which was usually done at night. In fact some members of certain individual families made fishing expeditions going a long distance from their settlement and staying the season out. But those are exceptional cases as far as dog salmon fishing is concerned (p. 64). It might be concluded that seasonal migrations common to all the inland Ainu groups investigated by the present writer were only those undertaken by certain members of families to their hunting huts in the hills and mountains.

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Only a few families of the
*pishun utaru* followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or 15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun kucha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

*Yanke sotki and repun sotki.*—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to *repun tomari* and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.